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The first child, boy or girl, of the High Chief is treated with state. ⁷⁵¹ Women come from Tumbou, Levuka, the country, to hold it by turns in ⁶⁴⁴ their arms, not allowing it to touch the ground for ten days. They may not sleep in the house where the child is, they may not wash. The chief pays them with feasts and gifts. Leading noblemen come in. Every day a feast is made. On the tenth day the child's grandmothers, who have stayed in the house, go to bathe in the sea, which they do by going to fish. The child is bathed in a bowl or a bucket of fresh water, but they call it bathing in the sea.⁷⁰ A feast is made for its bathing.

SICKNESS AND MEDICINE

THE CURE, THE DIAGNOSIS

Prevention of disease is almost unknown in Lau and it is difficult to ⁷⁵¹ make the natives take precautions against infection. It is known that ⁷⁵⁸ some diseases spread (*ndewa*), but the persons infected are not avoided. Lepers are isolated by law, but are visited by their relatives and friends. In fact, one wise woman thinks that there is more leprosy now because lepers are isolated. Epidemics are called *mate taka*.

Sick persons are much downcast and lie helpless with a blanket over ⁷⁵⁸ their faces, hardly answering when spoken to. Even taking into consideration that the commonest illnesses are fevers, which have depressing effect, Lauans do not stand up to illness. They also appear to judge a disease by its feeling. As soon as the depressing effect is over, the patient throws off his blanket, sits up, and goes about before he has recovered, hence attacks of fever last longer than necessary.

If a man is ill away from home, his people immediately take him home. The kinsfolk visit the patient. They sit and talk together, and at night have kava, often until late. If the patient be better, he sits up to receive the visitors.

The great number of names of diseases at first sight suggests a precise ⁷⁵³ and highly developed diagnosis. For instance, some of the diseases of the abdomen are called: *ramberambe tu i kete*, *wanggangga i kete*, *ngata lua*, *oso*, *mbera a mbete*, *mbati yate*, *mbondra*; some kinds of "octopus." But an informant explains:

They are all in the belly, but the names differ; it all depends on what is good ⁷⁵³ for them (*kena yonga*); if a man is ill in the belly, they send for all those who know ⁷⁵⁷ the names of diseases; they try one, then another; they come and touch (*vamotha*) the ⁷⁵⁵ patient. If they touch the patient and he gets relief, they bring some medicine. It is our hand that is effective."

* Wailevu means great water. In Lau it is the sea, but in Viti Levu it refers to a river. The migration of the custom may explain the anomaly.

757 In other words, a leech by touching knows whether it is his disease or
 755 not—that is, the one of which he knows the cure—or he can recognize
 whose disease it is. Thus diseases are not diagnosed by symptoms, but by
 the cure that happens to succeed. The mere touching can sometimes effect
 a cure apart from any remedies. Thus a boy of twelve was able to cure
 by touch internal pains in the ear and external swelling of the eye (*fua-
 fua*). The power was hereditary, and came from his mother's father.

One method of diagnosis by touch is called "bathing" (*veivakasilimi*).
 The leech puts his finger in the patient's throat, or else the patient sits
 in a basin of hot water, and the leech after oiling his finger thrusts it
 up the anus or the vagina. He can thus tell what the disease is, what
 remedy must be used. It is found that people on the point of death are
 cold inside though warm outside; others are expanded and there is plenty
 of room; others are rough, uneven. This method of "bathing" acts also
 as a remedy for constipation: it brings out the faeces. This method of
 relief is also used in conjunction with other remedies, for the "bathing," for
 the bowels are loosened by it and the inside is freed (*ngalangala*) for the
 remedy to act upon it. It is also used for *prolapsus ani* (*timea lulu ki
 sau*): it is lifted up on a leaf. In the disease of a woman who used this
 method, Melaia tried and made a successful diagnosis, and so has con-
 tinued to use it. It is a supernatural thing, she thinks.

759 The leech is called *vuniwai*, which may be translated "the origin of
 medicine," or better, "god of medicine." Medicines are called sickness
 waters (*wai ni mate*) or simply waters.

Potions and lotions (*i sui*) are usually made by chopping up or chew-
 ing leaves; or by scraping off the bark from a stem, wrapping the bark
 in the reticulum of a coconut palm, dipping it in a coconut shell of water
 and squeezing it. The number of leaves varies, but are four or eight.
 Sometimes the first potion is followed by a second called the complement
 of the medicine. Sometimes leaves are eaten, if with the potion the term
 is *ithoi*. Bathing or daubing the eyes, or squeezing a liquid into the ears
 or nose, is called *ndangi*.

Ointments (*i wali*) consist in coconut oil or in leaves chopped up with
 oil. Fumigation is called *kurui*. Fomentations (*sala*) are done by apply-
 ing leaves heated on the embers and wrapped in another leaf (*i tusala*).
 The body is sometimes gently stroked (*yamo*). Deep massage (*mbombo*)
 is frequently used to remove muscular fatigue.

Treatment is often repeated on four successive days, during which time
 certain prohibitions are enforced. Being forbidden the sunshine (*tambu
 singa*) is common, also food prohibitions: "sweet things," that is, rich
 things, including pig because of its fat; red things, including red yams and

particularly crabs; sea water, including any food from the sea; raw things⁷⁵⁷ and cold things, such as coconuts and ripe bananas. At one time when a⁷⁵⁵ boy was undergoing a light massage, it was tapu to make kava in the house. Some medicines carry no tapu, for others it lasts during the life-time of the patient. That which is prohibited is called the *tambu* of the cure, also its *kalou*. At the close of the treatment the patient bathes, "washes off the medicine." Sometimes the bathing takes the form of a fumigation.

Gifts are then presented to the leech and a feast, called the bathing⁴³¹ feast (*i silisili*). It is common for a convalescent of Lakemba to go to⁷⁵⁸ the Southern Islands, called leading astray (*vakasesea*) or taking the air (*vakathangithangi*). A man will go to his mother's kinsfolk. The low-born do not come to Lakemba when they are ill.

Following are a number of treatments, some of which I witnessed⁷⁵⁷ some I recorded from dictation, others I copied from notebooks kept by⁷⁵⁵ natives:

Abscesses and boils.—Boils, while always numerous, are more common in March, when they are called yam boils (*mbo ni uti*), because the yam matures at that time. An abscess should be allowed to burst, because if lanced it will run to another spot and appear there. Remedies: (a) chop four leaves of *kura* in banana leaf, mix them with oil, rub mixture gently on injured member for about ten minutes, follow by drinking a potion of the liquid. Continue for two days, when the patient bathes; continue for another two days, patient again bathes. Tapu: mangoes, raw things, grated coconut.²⁶² (b) The following treatment can be carried out only if the abscess has not been lanced: scrape stems of *walinggio*, *kura*, and lemon, and rub on with leaves of *tumandu*. Place in basin a number of wet leaves of *sinu* and of *uthi*; over them place four hot stones. The patient, covered with bark cloth, bends over the basin and remains for some time, when he is uncovered. Wiping off the moisture, he lies down. Following the treatment I witnessed, the remedy for "brain chewing octopus" was applied (p. 165). After one application the first day, the second and third days no medicine was given. On the fourth day the treatment was repeated, and so on until the cure was effected. Tapu: unnecessary talking during treatment; quiet in the house for four days; the removal of any object brought into the house. (c) For boils, heat a *kura* leaf, roll it between the palms of the hands, and apply.

Asthma (*theno*).—No cure was obtained. For shortness of breath, cut and peel a stem of *siti*; useful in a race.

Mberaambete (the priest is late {because before the *tabu* can come, the patient will die}).—A disease on the edge of the abdomen at the lowest ribs; obstructs the stomach. The name of one who possesses a cure is mentioned and the patient falls asleep with the mere talking it over. The leech is brought, who touches the patient, thus effecting a recovery.

Blows (*wai ni motu*).—(a) Scrape *Casuarina* and *Barringtonia*; one reticulum: strain, heat, and drink. Tapu: fermented coconut, lemon, kava, Brazilian plum, raw food. Bathing: fumigate with *uthi* and *waro*, using four stones. (b) Eight leaves of *swakalon*; make eight potions and eight ointments; a stem of *waleanggio* to scrape and drink as complement of the medicine, using another reticulum. Tapu: kava, lemons,²⁶² fermented coconut, offal [? ashes on the hair], Brazilian plum. Bathing: eight stones, candle-nut, a little, but plenty of *matiyavi*. (c) A fruiting branch of *waleanggio*, eight leaves as potion and ointment, and one stem as complement of the potion. On fruiting branch, four stems only should be turned toward the east. Tapu: raw food²⁶² and fermented pungent food, kava, Brazilian plum. (d) *Tatangia*, the side turned

757 toward the setting sun. Tapu: raw food and all things in the house. Bathing: four
755 stones, use *uthi* and *uaro* leaves.

Conjunctivitis.—A common complaint which sometimes becomes exceedingly painful; often dims or destroys the eyesight. (a) Can be treated by octopus cures (p. 165). (b) Near Rocky Point on the Wathiwathi side is a pool of clear water, into which people plunge with open eyes.

True *nda*, nature not clear.—From eight plants (those remembered were *kulukulu*, *thangolaya*, *yalu*) take eight twigs with eight leaves only; chop leaves in oil, place on a leaf of *saivula* banana, heated on coals, rub on body; scrape and strain the stems together, and drink the potion.

Nda tutu.—A kind of abscess which is hard and painless so long as that part of the body is not moved. It moves about for a time without change, then bursts. No remedy obtained.

Nda indro (from *indro*, a disease caused by witchcraft) produces swellings, very painful.—There are various kinds of this disease, to ascertain which the leech strokes with the hand. In one kind the body itches and swells, and the swelling spreads; small pimples appear; the whole body swells up to the face, the genitals are affected, and if not dealt with promptly causes death. (a) For this type the treatment for true *nda* is applied. (b) Cut into equal size, eight twigs each of *kulukulu*, *yanggoyang-gona*, and *thangolaya*; scrape only the lower part and strain into one reticulum. Divide into eight parts and warm in leaves of *saivula* banana, tie with *wa ndina*. Tapu: salt water, taro, and coconut. Bathing: heat eight stones, add ointment; throw into the sea (this should be done at dawn or sunset that the potion may not be wrapped with the patient's shadow).

Ndazuka.—Nokatolu leaves; the potion is the stem; *vesivesi wai* to be eaten with it (i *thoi*). Tapu: raw food. Bath: use potion.

Ndranumi (to wash in fresh water after sea bathing).—Believed to be used for convalescence. Remedies taken from a Moala note-book: (a) Two leaves each of *yanggoyang-gona* and *mulokaka*. The leaves of *mulokaka* should be innermost, the top shoot (*uruna*) only; it should be wrapped in leaves of *yanggoyang-gona*, and then wrapped in a coconut leaf and eaten. No tapu. (b) Take four leaves each of *lorilosi* and *totondro ni lingau*, place them one on top of the other, roll them up and eat. No tapu. (c) Take two leaves of *mboimboinda*, turn them tip to stem, roll them up, bite and eat the bit that remains. No tapu. (d) Take four leaves of *yaka mei ra kalavo* in pairs. No tapu. (e) Take four leaves of *sasangalu* in pairs and eat. No tapu. (f) Take four leaves of *soni*; pick them with the right hand and eat on the right side; let not the left hand touch it. No tapu. (g) Take leaves of *waroka*, four leaves of *molau*, roll up together and eat. No tapu.

Elephantiasis.—Very common in Tumbou, is called by a Tongan name *fua*. When it attacks the testicles it is called *theke*. One elderly man cut out everything, including the testicles, and survived. In the old days all had elephantiasis, the young men attributed it to going out early in the dew, and so gave up this practice.

Wanggangga.—A very common fever, begins with rigors, involves swellings in the arms or legs, where the skin becomes reddish. The fever often repeated leads to elephantiasis; of this the natives are aware, whether from observation or because Europeans have told them. The term is perhaps applied to other fevers. The disease *wanggangga* is not serious so long as it affects the whole body, but if it drops to the belly, it causes swelling and is fatal. Remedy from Wainggori, Oneata: (a) Pick from the tree two coconuts, carry them down without letting them fall, beat the husk of one in order to squeeze it, then bring the second and use it [its milk] to water the juice of the first and give it to drink; then get banyan leaves, four, and a fifth, the four being in pairs; pound them and prepare water and squeeze them in it. Have patient drink potion, four consecutive days, three times a day. Tapu: pig for four days, fish also, but not turtle, which is reckoned as shell fish (*uruli*).

Fever.—The English word fever is used by the Lauans, who say it is a white man's disease, that formerly Fijians were strong-blooded, but now they are chilly and

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get fever. They evidently mean by fever not any rise of temperature, but dengue and similar attacks. 757
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Imbewalu (eight mats).—So named because with this disease the sick man is confined so long that eight mats have rotted and been removed; then it will be known whether he will live or die. The seat of the disease is in the buttocks, which swell and remain swollen; sometimes they rot (*popo*). It is said to be due to witchcraft.

I wawa (waiting remedy) or *i vakatawa, locum tenens*.—[Presumably this is a preliminary treatment, it may be for convalescence.] Strain leaves of *sinu nganga*; then drink. No tapu.

Karaki ndra.—The stem of a *saitula* banana sucker, and the stems of *waro* and *etuevu*, scrape these two together and wrap all three together in a reticulum.

Kasi.—The nature of *kasi* is not clear. There are at least three varieties: blood *kasi* (*kasi ndra*), swelling disease, accompanied by local inflammation; white man's *kasi* (*kasi ni papalangi*). Said by one informant to be *kasi ndra*; by another to appear in the buttocks and differ from *imbe walu* in not being serious; *kasi ndro* [probably believed to be due to witchcraft]. The Moala notebook describes it thus: "This disease arises with coughing; it is a throbbing pain [*? langa*] in the ribs and reaches the back." Remedy, strain *selekaleka* in a taro swamp with two leaves of *sikati loa* as a cup. Tapu: sea water and red things.

Madness.—The theory that madness is due to a spirit carrying off the soul is 158
dealt with on page 187. Melaia's views on madness are as follows:

There have been three madmen in Yandrana: Taikiko and the brothers Tukeli and Suka. Tukeli used to plant taro at low tide below high water mark. Suka went about naked; he had many sisters, yet he would put on no clothes. He once hit a young lady of Tumbou on the head; a leech sucked the blood from her wound and the people of Yandrana made a supplication (*soro*) to Tumbou. Taikiko married a very old woman and his madness grew up in him, whether she was the cause of his madness or whether spirits (*tevoro*) ate his soul. Why he married her? Probably the madness was coming on. They are all the same in that family. Perhaps a madman was their ancestor (*tupua*); perhaps their god (*tevoro*) was created mad, since madness does not leave them. Perhaps they took the earth of oven holes for their ointment or to bathe in, for they lay in oven holes. Ratu Meli was mad at one time and it is said there was a disease in his forehead which went down and, as it were, covered his eyes. 755
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Mathake.—The result of sweet food, affects only certain persons.

Constipation.—Remedy: scrape *mboimboinda*, chew *nde ni singa*; drink, once only. Tapu: sweet food.

Mara.—A disease of the joints; the skin cracks if the disease lasts long, may cause deformed noses (*uthu tha*). Emosi claims it is his disease:

I merely touch the wrist and he recovers. It is a hereditary disease,^a it is mine I know it; it is not like others who know only it is their disease because they massage it and in time the patient gets better; I know it by touch; I am on the lookout (*vakarongotha*); that disease will jump on to my hand, and I know it is mine; when I touch the wrist it leaps upon me; it is very painful to me. There are no leaves, merely one called *vono ni zuihe* to massage with (*i yamo*). This massage is hereditary. If the parents die while the child has as yet no understanding, he will still know the cure when he grows up. All my family know it.

Misungga.—Remedy from the Moala notebook: scrape Brazilian plum and Tahitian chestnut; water with two red coconuts which must not be dropped on the ground, but must be carried down from the tree, . . . and pour on the leaves. Tapu: cohabitation, salt water, and sweets. [262
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Octopus (*kuita*).—Apparently a general name for disease which involves a wide-spread pain as in headache and neuralgia; specific names given are: peeping octopus, (*kuita iro*) is like an octopus peeping from its hole; in it the pain comes about four in the afternoon; shut octopus (*kuita songosongo*); strayed octopus (*kuita siri*), brain

^a The knowledge of it is hereditary.

757 chewing octopus (*kuita ngguru moya*) (only a name, it is not seen); coir octopus
755 (*kuita mangimangi*); withcraft octopus (*kuita i ndro*). First one remedy, then another is tried. Some octopus diseases devour the belly; if a mother has pains in the abdomen after child-birth it is octopus; the leech comes, massages her, the patient finds relief, then a remedy is sought. One boy got night octopus (*kuita mbongi*) which hurts in the morning and leaves off in the evening. He said he had eaten an octopus some time before and shortly after the pain began. Remedy: four sticks of *kulukulu*, also called *mamakove*, scraped on a reticulum, wrap the scrapings up, and squeeze them into a cup, the patient drinks part and is rubbed with the rest. Tapu: octopus.

One remedy for brain-munching octopus is called *viriviri* or *viviviri*, a term connected with the witchcraft. The method I saw was as follows: The patient was lying down. Sitting at the patient's head the leech pressed eight leaves of *waro* on the right ear, then squeezed them into the nose (*ndangi*); keeping the hand against one side of the face, he massaged (*mbombo*) alternately the opposite side of the face with the root of the other hand, the fingers on the nose. Then he pressed the temples. If effective, it is repeated four times: *waro* leaves are used on the first and second days; eight lemon leaves on the third and fourth days. The lemon leaves are chewed, spat into a leaf of Tahitian chestnut, rolled up in it and pinned with a bit of reed; they are pressed into the ears and nose and sniffed in. If the treatment is not effective after three applications, the steaming treatment described on page 163 is tried. Tapu: octopus and noise.

One kind of octopus affects the eyes and makes them squint. The head has neuralgia (*fasala*) which goes down to the eyes and injures them. It is called octopus because the octopus is neuralgic (?). The remedy is: Take a number of leaves of pig's hoof (*i taukuku ni puaka*); wrap them up in a leaf of *kura*, warm on embers which should not be stirred into a flame; add oil, cover the patient and steam him. Given twice a day, morning and evening, for four days; after which the patient bathes. Tapu: salt food, raw food.

[262] *Kuita tambaki-ndua*, one-sided octopus.—Take four leaves of *lawere*, chew, then put into the reticulum, four leaves of banyan . . . ; chew likewise and put into same reticulum. If it is the left side that pains, pick with the left hand; after picking throw the hand four times behind the back, then chew; if his right side pains, then pluck with the right hand, and then chew afterwards and put into the reticulum. Tapu: salt water, taro, red things, coconuts, bathing in the sea.

753 Organic diseases.—Certain diseases are known as *mbatha ngathangatha*, diseases of the viscera. One old man discussing consumption, which is rampant in Lau, thinks organic diseases are common in Lau because it is a sweet-toothed country, eating much pudding; it is otherwise in the West. Consumption is a new disease and the natives know about it only what Europeans have told them.

751 *Ramberambe tu i kete* (kicking situated in the belly).—A serious disease; it has many ways of attack, usually arising at the top of the thigh, moving to the belly; one arises in the throat and then goes on to the belly; one arises in the center of the belly and extends to the pit of the stomach. One man says it is the same as belly ache (*mosi ni kete*). It is treated with remedies for the belly; if one fails, another is tried. Remedy: Five leaves of *mborete* and six of *senitoa*; strain and pound, then drink. An ointment of chewed *losilosi* leaves, smeared on the hand, and so massage; lotion: leaves of *matiyari* to be used on the belly. Tapu: *matu* fish and *saifula* banana.

Ruptures (*ramusu*).—The term rupture covers a wide range since Lauans see a break wherever there is a sprain, or a mere strain or stiffness. In a case of stiffness or pain in the hip the leech explained that it was not the bone but the *ua* that was affected. The term *ua* includes tendons, muscles, and blood vessels.

Remedies: (a) A hereditary treatment of deep massage with hands oiled. No tapu. (b) From the Moala notebook: one *ndeninana* to be broken into . . . parts each exactly 3 spans long; break two twigs of greenheart of India into two parts, each 1 span, 3 inches long; a mangrove root, one which is young and does not reach the water: break off the tip and break the remainder into two parts of 1 span, 3

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inches each; scrape all thoroughly that no part be omitted; the *ndenimana* should be nethermost, the mangrove between, and the greenheart of India on top. The ointment: four leaves of *wavoti* laid with the stems alternately; then cut up with scissors and add oil; warm it in four leaves of *kura one*. Tapu: stepping over running water. [757]

Sasala.—A superficial pain, as of the pricking of the skin. Comes on when there are heavy black clouds. Dr. B. C. Corney says "roughly speaking *sasala* means either flying muscular pains, or pains caused by *lymphangitis*." It also applies to neuralgia.

Seua.—Either the name of a cure or of a disease. Remedy: chew four banyan leaves; dab the ears, then rub; apply for four days. Tapu: wind and sun. No *kava* is offered to spirits, nor was it ever the custom to do so. The remedy belongs to the family in Waitambu. 'My informant learned it from his mother, who got it from her mother, who stroked his hand as she gave it to him. Another man could not use the remedy: it would not be efficacious (*mana*). My informant was reluctant to disclose his knowledge of the cure.

Ngata (snake).—A term applied to various diseases, so called because they begin in the legs and rise to the stomach, when the patient vomits. "It is only the snake in the abdomen that does so." A short snake is believed to possess the hand (*ngata leka tu i linga*). Remedy from the Moala notebook: Leaves of *walai* and the top shoot of a reed; bring them home, pound, and drink. No tapu.

Sting.—To cure a sting of the *kamboa* fish, hold the foot over a fire of grass and *sinu* leaves. [752]

Tandoka.—An illness caused by not observing the restrictions on the diet prescribed, it may occur to one circumcised who goes about instead of lying still. Remedies: (a) *Mbele ni ndawa loa* and leaves of *matiyati*; wrap, pound and drink. No tapu.

Wounds in the eye.—Remedy: Take four leaves of *losilos* and four top shoots of reeds; chew together and squeeze, then pour on the eye. [754]

Wounds of the body. Remedy: Take four new leaves of *mau*, chew and use as lotion, blow three times on it, do not blow the fourth time. Bathe on the fourth day. No tapu.

A congested bruise is called "dead blood."

Wry-neck.—It is believed that this ailment is caused by a dead tendon in the neck. [757]

Yaws.—Elsewhere in Fiji mothers think their children ought to get yaws, or they will not be strong. I believe it is the same in Lau. Premature healing is believed to be fatal. It is said that the yaws have retreated inside. An after-effect is a sore underfoot which the natives call *suthuve* but do not connect with the disease. Sores are often said "to smell the ground," and so hurt. [755]

TONGAN REMEDIES

The Tongan word for remedy is *faitoo* which the Lauans make into *faito*. Tonga is a land of remedies; there are many many things that are supernaturally effective. [757]

Fuafua (in Tongan *fuofua*) arises inside and aches inside.—A Tongan woman treated by dipping the stopper of a bottle in oil and rubbing the meatus of the ear. There is no prayer. The remedy is ineffective except when transferred. Wind and sea are tapu. [755]

Matafa.—Explained as "the corner of the eye," the nature of the ailment was not made clear to me. Remedy: Take the stem of a *Dracaena* leaf, touch the eyeball with it, break off the tip that has touched the eye, repeating four or five times. Tapu: sun and wind.

Kulakula (Tongan, *kulokula*).—Translated as "red." I saw the treatment applied to an abscess in the arm: the leech, a woman, dipped her fingers in pounded leaves of *molau* and smeared (*wali*) the arm lightly. This is done every day, morning and evening, perhaps for five or six consecutive days. The body may be bathed, but not

757 the affected arm. The leech gave a pillow and a mat to the Tongan woman who taught
177 her. The disease may be produced by witchcraft.

755 *Lolokumete*.—All the organs of the body pain; sometimes internal discharges occur, which are fatal; sometimes external pus does not appear until after four or five months. It can be produced by witchcraft.

If a person is ill with this disease and the owner of the cure cannot attend, he will say, "Go and tell the patient I cannot go. If it is my disease, when you get there he will find relief; if it is not mine he will not be relieved." As he speaks, the patient recovers. The leech also touches and so knows whether it is his disease.

TREATMENT FOR PREGNANCY AND BIRTH ²³

842 Pregnancy is called *mbukete*. Medicines (*wai*) to produce children are
824 called *wai ni luvua*; in some of them the *vativati* fern is used. "It varies," says one wise woman "in the case of abdominal pains. Some women who have no children merely 'bathe' (*sili*) [p. 162] in order to turn the uterus the right way, because hard work such as fishing and carrying burdens turns the path of the child. The test [[?] efficiency: *i vakandinandina*] is my hand." After this treatment the woman may use a medicine called *wai ni nda*.

Scrape one stick each of *waleanggio* and *warowaro*; wrap the scrapings in the reticulum of a coconut palm, soak in water, squeeze; give to drink. If the remedy fails, the following is tried: scrape the bark off a branch of lemon tree, make an infusion, and give to the patient to drink; cut up fine a leaf of *makota* and with it rub the belly; this is the ointment. Only the wife drinks.

847 A foetus is in the early stages described as "blood." A distinction is
843 made between abortions which are called *lutundra* (fallen as blood) and miscarriages, described as "the child has fallen." In Mba I was told the first term was used when the foetus was anything up to five months old.

847 Abortion is procured, but details are hard to obtain, as the practice is now a criminal offence. It is called "causing to fall," also "child-pricking," "pricking in the belly." These terms sufficiently express the method. Formerly it was very common. The people of Wathiwathi used to destroy the children of all their women who married into Tumbou so that they should have no *vasu*, that is sister's sons (p. 40) to be a burden upon them.

844 After eight months pregnancy a woman is given a slippery medicine called *wai ni kuita kumbe*, octopus of the atlantoid membrane. The disease appears "in the path of the child." It makes the membrane hard and spreads round the waist.²⁴ The medicine makes it easy to detach the membrane and for the child to be born.

Treatment.—Scrape together one stick of *ronga* and one of *eruetu*, make an infusion for the patient to drink.

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²³ For the medical terms of this chapter I am indebted to Dr. W. MacDougall.

²⁴ The membrane gets hard in parts and is liable to stick in consequence of syphilis. Dr. B. G. Corney writes that he has never met with a case of syphilis in a native Fijian; and there is no authentic case on record. Adhesion of the placenta may, he thinks, be the consequence of yaws which is a close relation of syphilis.

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When the placenta, or "seat of the child" as it is called, appears the midwife anoints her hand with oil, rubs the membrane and finally detaches it carefully. A person who does not know pulls and tears it, and if the membrane is torn the mother dies. The umbilical cord is bandaged and cut off with scissors; formerly it was not bandaged and a bamboo knife was used. 844

The following cure is used if a woman bears a child and her belly aches: 843
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First, the leech uses a test medicine consisting of an infusion made with four leaves of *vaticati* which is given to drink and used to rub the belly. The prohibitions connected with it are sweet food and sea water. The patient is eased, then has tremendous pains, then feels easy again. The leech is then informed that the patient is better and supplies the substance of the cure: one stem of *worula*, and two shoots of reeds, one tuber of *vaticati*, four leaves of *vaticati* made into an infusion and drunk. This is repeated four days after which the patient bathes.

The length of the confinement depends on the time of baptism; the mother lies in till then, it may be for months. She is covered with a blanket. Her diet consists of taro stems because it is soft food. The mother eats three or four times a day and twice at night to make the milk abundant. She may not eat pig or sweet food for one or two months till the child is strong lest the mother contract *ndrami*. She may not eat food from the sea for four days, or drink coconut for some time. 843

Treatment for travail (*wai ni taratara*): 844

Many leaves of *ale*, and some of *se ni toa* and *mon* leaves; when the woman is in travail pound them together, strain them in the usual way and give it her to drink. The *Hibiscus* is used because its juice is viscous, in order that the child may slip. If parturition is hard they continue giving medicine. If these medicines fail, after two nights recourse is made to a spirit-expelling Tahitian medicine (*wai vakataiti*).

POSSESSION.

A very popular class of remedies is that called *taiti* remedies. They are known to have been introduced by the Tahitian missionaries, hence the name. They are now used to expel spirits, though one wise woman says, this is not the right meaning. "The cause of *taiti*," says Poasa, "is the souls of the dead or the ancestor spirits." If a spirit hits a man so that he does not know his soul, he is *taiti*. Sometimes before he is in sight, the patient declares the leech is coming, and refuses to have him, saying "the place smells bad," referring to the medicine; he struggles. When the leech arrives, the patient tries to escape. As he is held down, he calls out the names of great grandparents, or forefathers, or *Tutumatua*, or the Wind Women. I witnessed a case of this nature: A boy was seized with pains in the stomach and was delirious; a spirit was said to be eating him. The boy recognized only one man; and complained the spirit had pinched him. A pupil of Ratu, the Levuka man who leads the "Children of Water" came 755
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[928]
[753]

755 and touched him and he ceased crying. He recovered, but a few days later
157 he got treated in Levuka by Ratu, although he was quite well at the time.

First he had to get some kava to give to Ratu "to beg with." Ratu deputed a Viti Levu man to give the treatment:

Three leaves each of mango, *kura*, breadfruit, folded tightly and given to the patient who chews them, then spits the leaves into his hand and returns them to the leech. The patient lies down and the leech rubs the pit of the stomach with the leaves. When the patient has had the medicine he utters the name of the spirit who has possessed him. The boy in question said it was Koroiravotu, a soul of the dead, a Levuka man who lived in the old village and whom he had never seen.

The bathing consists in using leaves of *uthi* after four days, that the disease may depart. If this does not take effect, another medicine is administered, followed by another bathing four days later.

758 Ratu also treated a man from Lomaloma who had pains and swellings in the neck and ear which he said were due to a spirit hitting him. He had a relapse which was due to his eating tapu food about which the leech had forgotten to caution him.

'From a Kambara born Tongan another remedy was obtained for *taiti*:

One nettle (*salato*), pinch off a whole stem, place in a cup; stir it with a stick without water; smear with it the body of a man whom the spirit is devouring.

From the Moala notebook:

(a) Pick four or eight leaves of bitter *sinu*, and four twigs; break these into equal sizes to use as pestle, then place the leaves in a cup and pour water on them. If they sink the patient will die; if they float he will recover.

(b) True *taiti*: *kovekoveliku* and white nettle. For rubbing use the nettle called *salato ni longa uto* and oranges. Tapu: raw food and all things in the house. For bathing: four stones, *suthi* and *waro*.

(c) Tahitian remedy: *mulomulo* and *vombo*, scraped and rolled with "nettle of the breadfruit grove," placed in the middle; put in the reticulum and strain. Ointment: *yanggoyanggona* leaf, roll up without warning, and stroke with it. Lotin: *kovekoveliku*, pull off eight top shoots, break into equal lengths, then chew and wrap in a piece of bark cloth to strain. Tapu: kava and orange. For bathing: *uthi* and *waro*, four stones.

(d) *Taiti*: Scrape the white part of two roots of screwpine; scrape ironwood; heat together, and give to drink. For steaming, use four leaves of *uthi*, *waro*, and two each of *ndilo* and *seisei*; heat four stones. For bathing use these same leaves. Tapu: to remove things from the house. From Totoya: take off the bark of *molau*, and scrape the core, strain in a cup and drink. Tapu: food from the sea and sweet food. Steaming: heat four stones, press *kura* leaves. The patient is steamed with these so that the body sweats and the disease goes away. No tapu.

THE CHILDREN OF WATER

756 There are cures which are known as cures of the Children of Water,
777 elves which are the *kalou* of the remedy. The following account is given by a Lauan, who says he received the cure from a native of Viti Levu:

Hocart—Lau Islands, Fiji

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One night he and the native were sleeping together in the same room, where there was a big box. After midnight the Lauan heard something thumping inside the box as though there were a man inside. He asked, "What is that?" 756

"The *kalou* of my remedy," the young man replied.

"May I see?"

The native took from the box a throwing club with a cowry tied on it; and stood it upon the box. This club was the temple (*mbure*) of a Child of Water. The Lauan was afraid because it stood like a man until morning. He asked, "What is it?"

"The proprietor of my remedy," answered the owner. Then they slept.

Next morning the owner explained, "If any man comes to fetch me to heal, I know by the club: if the remedy will be effective it will stand up. I say to the club, 'If this man can be cured, stand up.' In sleep the *kalou*, Mbokanamate by name, comes and reveals what is effective (*yang*) for the disease, what leaves to use." The Lauan asked for the remedy and after six months the young man gave it to him, together with a throwing club, and a very ancient elub of the type called *runikau*, which was used by his forefathers, and told him the following things were forbidden to him: fermented banana till death, and whatever he ate or drank he had to pour out some first. After three months the Lauan made his teacher a present. He practiced the remedy for fifteen years; if he wanted to know about a relative he asked the club, "Is he in health?" and if he were the club would stand up. If anything were stolen he would enumerate all the people and at the right name the club stood up.

Mbokanamate comes from Rakiraki on the north coast of Viti Levu. He used to enter the teacher and the Lauan and tell them what was effective for a particular disease.

The remedy consists of 4 *mbokanimbure*, 4 *lera*, 4 *songakeirakiva*, 4 *noma langakali* a *alewa kalou*, 4 *kinitinganea*, and 4 *sasanggilo*. Besides those leaves there are some hundred written down in a book; but they are not constant. The above six are the base, the truth of the remedy; there is not a remedy in which they are not used except that *mbokanimbure* and *lera* are not used in diseases of the abdomen and in obstruction (*mate oso*). The others are only complements. The first two are good for diseases caused by spirits which make men to go mad; the third and fifth are good for diseases of the head; the fourth and fifth are "refreshers" for diseases caused by witchcraft. For obstruction *tikau ndamu* and *soiwa* are added, being strained in one reticulum. For difficult travail add *wandondundawa*, *oviovilawa*, *kulukulu*, and *Hybiscus*, all in one reticulum. This is sometimes used to bring out the afterbirth.

SPIRITS AND MEDICINE

All informants are positive that spirits even in olden times did not reveal medicines; the only medicine was the priest: he touched the patient and he recovered. It was denied that there was any connection between the *kalou* of the medicine and what is usually known as *kalou*, that is spirits (p. 185): "There is no spirit (*tevor*) as the god of the remedy. Only the remedies of the Children of Water have Children of Water as gods." The other medicines simply come down from ancient times. 776 755 757

The herald, however, told me of some remedies that had gods or spirits, but I do not know that they are ancient. Thus the hawk moth (*kumakumare*) is the god or spirit of one remedy; some have the grasshopper; some have a plant, and if the leech wants to pick the leaves the spirit hides them so that the patient dies. Some people are afraid to pick the leaves of their

own remedy because the spirit is sitting there at the foot of the plant; he is not embodied in it.

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757. The term *kalou* of the remedy which was used of prohibited food is also used in spiritualistic medicines of the spirit connected with the medicine. Thus a man who saw a white dog in a dream after treatment for possession, told his Tongan leech who said, "It is the spirit of my remedy."

It was not known why the ancient remedies are efficacious (*mana*). One man supposed they were given to black countries because they are not clever. Possibly God gave them to Fiji.

Remedies are generally concealed: it is hard for a man to tell his because some remedies are efficacious only merely taken inwardly. In other cases a man may take the remedy yet it does not work, because it is a thing of old times, the proper remedy of the owner. Even in this case, however, the names of the leaves are often concealed, and no reason could be given, except by one man who said the remedy would fail (*ndai*) if many knew.

In order to impart a remedy one wise woman would rub the palm of the pupil, who would then be able to treat the disease.

WITCHCRAFT

- 754 Withcraft is included in the term *wai* (water) which also means medicine, treatment. It is also called *ndraundrau* or called *ndrau ni kau* (leaves), a term evidently from Viti Levu as the Lauan would be *ndra ni kathu*. Another term is *sausau* (pricking).

Voia declares that all witchcraft on the coast can in the end be traced to the hill tribes. Mba, on the western coast of Viti Levu, is especially considered to be the home of witchcraft. The Windward Islands, Mualevu and the Moala Islands, but especially Matuku, have a reputation for witchcraft.

It is most difficult to learn of evidences of witchcraft, as even intimate acquaintances will not bring the possessors of charms to confess. They are ashamed, both because it is bad and because it is forbidden by Government. Men have been killed even under British rule for practising witchcraft. One informant says that of old there were charms (*i sausau*) in every coconut grove; now it is a secret; another, however, says that of old few people knew. They may both be right; charms to protect property may have been considered legitimate; others may have been considered wrong. It is asserted that at the present day all witches have perished, because if a man was suspected he was made to kiss the Bible and if guilty, he perished. However, when three big noblemen died in quick succession, witchcraft was suspected and Ratu Finau compelled the whole island, even little children, to take an oath on the Bible that they knew no witchcraft; those who confessed had to swear that they would never use it again.

787 Though used for various purposes, this method of divination seems to be
 754 specially connected with witchcraft, for a Mualevu boy once remarked that
totondro was used for witchcraft and that four leaves are bitten for divination.

755 The remedy for the witchcraft just described is a potion strained from
 754 eight leaves of *walai* and eight of *sasangilo*; the patient drinks on four
 days and recovers at once. No prayer is said to the spirit before using the
 remedy. During the four days these things are tapu: coconuts, fermented
 coconut, sea water. After four nights the patient bathes.

VARIOUS KINDS OF WITCHCRAFT

754 A Lakemban learned the following method of witchcraft called the pin
 (*i thula*) from a Totoyan:

Four bits of wood [species unknown] about an inch long; stick into the footprint, allowing them to project slightly; any part of the foot can be pricked by driving the sticks into the corresponding part of the footprint. If the sun is in the west the witch must see that his shadow does not fall on the footprint. The man whose footprint is pricked gets pain and cries day and night. If the witch wishes him to die he drives the stick in; then the leg becomes painful; if people find out in time who caused the pain, they call that man to effect a cure. The refresher (*i vakandranu*), as the cure is called, consists in leaves which are chewed and used as a lotion. Only the man who made the witchcraft can exercise it. Sometimes if a woman rejects a man's advances he will anoint a reed and prick her footstep, taking care to be on the lee side of the reed.

There are flying charms (*i sausau vuka*), so called because reeds are planted which fly to anyone who goes that way. Nothing is done to the reeds; it is called an empty charm (*i sausau lala*) because no leaves or ointment are used. This is sometimes done where taro is stolen. The disease arises in the belly or the knees. A flying charm may affect anyone even if he is not stealing, so if a man sees an empty charm he knocks it down. The men of old left their yam stores open; anyone who went to eat died of witchcraft.

The disease called "sau of the hills" is said to be caused by a kind of lemon which was formerly used as soap. It is put to float on the water and if a man touches it he gets the disease.

Emosi knows only straight charms (*wai*) and not those tortuous ones like witchcraft; but he has heard of an ancient Fijian way of killing which belonged to Narova of Mathuata. It is called "bake his faeces" (*vani a ndena*).

If anyone enters my house or quarrels about anything, I will keep watching him; I watch him at the place where he stools. When he stands up I go and collect his faeces and place them on leaves of *langakalilevaka*. I take a young branch of

screwpine, strip it of leaves, cut off the soft parts, scrape, gouge it to remove the heart. I then heat a stone, take it and cast it inside the screwpine; I next take the rubbish and cast it inside the screwpine; I close the screwpine and say, "You spirit (*kalou*); I shut up the rubbish of So-and-so." I carry it to some muddy spot and leave it there. I then set up a stick where the rubbish lies; that end is turned to leeward. Then the stone works on his rubbish and the leaves, and it steams up. I stand up and leave to its own devices the steam from the heat of the stone. His belly begins to swell within an hour, it may be. The hole in the screwpine gets filled with water, and that is why the belly swells. Excreta are used because some parts come from the body and some are left. The *kalou* of the charm are spirits in the bush, native spirits, foreign spirits, those that are spirits, those that are prayed to." 754

Of old, anyone who had a pain in a joint could pick some grass called *sila*, make a knot in it, and beat the painful part, saying:

Motu mbula, motu mbula;
A ona ka muri mai ka tauva.

Beat without killing, beat without killing;
Let it infect him who follows.

The grass was left across the path and if anyone stepped over it, the disease jumped upon him. The disease thought to be thus imparted devours the bones, the hands are contracted, there are rigors. It was said to attack the patient in the morning when the land-breeze comes down. A certain man is said to know the cure:

Chop leaves, add water, heat it, and rub the leg. The leaves are thrown into the sea, for if they were left on the beach and anyone went there in the early morning, it would infect him. Tapu: taro, red food, coconuts, oil, and cold; it is tapu to look towards the sea to the place where the surf breaks on the sand or the body will hurt much. [755]

This cure was passed down from father to son.

If the man who has been bewitched dies, the witch must pierce the body within four nights of the death or he will himself die. The grave is sometimes guarded for four nights to prevent the witch piercing the body.

Some people get charms (*i sausan*) from Viti Levu, but do them wrongly and die in consequence. There was one such occurrence in Yandran.

A Lakemban Tongan was of opinion that the man who knows the cure for witchcraft also knows the witchcraft itself, or as he put it, he who knows how it refresh, knows how to kill.

A refresher from Thakombia used for conjunctivitis caused by witchcraft was given as follows:

Take four leaves of a plant [name unknown]; two to eat, and two to bathe (*sui*) [755] the eyes. Those for the lotion are chewed and spat into a Tahitian chestnut leaf and held over the eye so that the juice drips into it. This gives relief. It is done four times on each eye twice a day for four days, after which the patient bathes. Tapu: to use a banana leaf or sere leaf as plate.

When the owner of the refresher slept after treating a kinswoman a man came: "I saw him in the Underworld (*Mbulu*). They call that a

A sick person usually goes first to a diagnostician, who makes an examination by tapping the body and inserting a finger into the mouth, anus, or vagina. The diagnostician tells the patient which specialist knows medicines to treat his particular type of malady. 759

According to the native ideology, mental illness (called *lialia*) is caused by an evil spirit which has gained possession of the body and mind. The patient shows symptoms of mental disturbance and accompanying physical disability. He loses touch with reality and becomes absorbed in the spirit world. The natives say that such cases are most common among young, unmarried people, but are found among natives of all ages. 828 753

Men are usually possessed by twin evil spirits called the "windwomen" (*lewa matangi*). The names of the "windwomen" on Namuka are "Good Desire" and "Bad Desire". Their abode is the uninhabited isle of Marambo, and it is dangerous for men to go there lest they become possessed. The "windwomen" disturb a man in sleep by assuming the forms of alluring young women, usually a particular woman whom the man desires. She offers him tempting food, but if he eats this food he will sicken and perhaps die. Just as the "eating together" ceremony is symbolical of consummation in marriage, the eating of this food is apparently symbolical of sexual union and the man believes he has connection with the woman. Occasionally a patient believes he has become pregnant by such a spirit and his belly and breasts begin to swell. When this happens the natives say the man will die in a short time if he is not cured. 776 753 828 755

The cure of a case of spirit possession is accomplished by a method curiously similar to that used in psychoanalysis. The Lauan theory is that the doctor must draw a confession of the name of the spirit from the patient in order to release the spirit from his body. The doctor sees the patient every day, tries to allay his fears, encourages him, talks to him 755 753

- 755 about the spirit, gives him potions of herbs to drink, and
753 rubs his body with medicines. Finally in the course of the treatment, when the doctor touches the part of the body in which the spirit dwells, the patient will cry out. The doctor presses the affected part until it hurts and asks "Who is it?" and in great distress the patient calls the name of the spirit. Immediately the spirit leaves him and he begins to recover.

The cure, however, is not always permanent. While we were on Kambara, Suma of Undu became ill. He lost his memory and his power of thought. He wandered about the village staring into space. He could not eat, sleep or work, and he had to be watched lest he cut or burn himself. People were afraid that he might set fire to a house or commit suicide. He was tortured by dreams of evil spirits who took him fishing or into the bush. Finally he went for treatment to Kama, the best witch doctor on Kambara, and lived in Kama's house for about two months.

- 755 The doctor gave him a medicine (called *wai ni taitchi*) twice
278 a day. To make this medicine, equal quantities of bark shav-
753 ings from several trees⁵³ are placed in a small medicine bag, made of coconut reticulum tied with a strip of pandanus, and steeped in a cup of cold water. The bag is squeezed and removed. The infusion is drunk and the bag is rubbed over the body. After the fourth day the doctor gave him another medicine (called *wai ni thavuyalo*) internally and externally twice a day for two weeks. The purpose of this dose was to clear the mind. During this time the patient began to eat again but he continued to be troubled by a spirit which brought him food in his dreams. The doctor gave him a medicine (called *kanaimbulu*) to stop the dreams and prevent the food from poisoning the man.⁵⁴ The infusion was drunk three times a day. As the patient's condition improved he was

[824] ⁵³ i.e., *vesivesiwai* (*Pongamia pinnata*), *kura* (*Morinda citrifolia*), *uthi* (*Evodia hortiensis*), *vevendu* (*Scaevola*) and lemon.

⁵⁴ To make *kanaimbulu*, place a few Tahitian chestnut leaves in a medicine bag and steep the bag in a cup of water.

given a purge (called *pala*), before eating.⁵⁵ To increase the patient's strength and weight he was given a fattening medicine (called *pala fatafata*)⁵⁶ before meals and other medicines.⁵⁷

Only one type of medicine was given a day. The doctor spent much time talking with the patient and trying to soothe him. Every day he gave him a massage, starting with the eyes and moving over the head and body. Finally, one day during this massage when the doctor pressed the patient's genitals the patient cried out: "The windwomen!" As soon as he confessed, the evil spirits which had been lodging in his genitals flew away and the patient began to recover. His progress was rapid and in a week or two he was ready to return to Undu.

The purification ceremony, which marks the recovery of patient after treatment by a doctor, was held in Kama's house. Suma bathed in the sea for the first time since he had been under the doctor's care, and his near male relatives presented mats, barkcloth, oil, and kava root to the doctor in payment for his services.

The patient returned to Undu apparently cured, but after a few weeks the symptoms began to recur. He grew steadily worse, but did not return to the doctor. One night he called a few of his male relatives and confessed that he had stolen money from the mission church on Kambara. He died shortly afterwards.

Another case of spirit possession treated by Kama was that of Noka of Tokalau. The patient was about forty years old at the time. He dreamed that the "windwomen" brought

⁵⁵ The purge was made from the bark of the *tatangia* (*Acacia laurifolia*) plant, shaved into a medicine bag and steeped in water. [824]

⁵⁶ The fattening medicine was made of equal quantities of the bark of the *kaviika* (*Eugenia malaccensis*) and the *weleanggio* (*Torreya sambucian*) plants prepared in the same fashion.

⁵⁷ The patient was also given medicine called *wai ni thange*, made of the roots of the pandanus tree and the Tahitian chestnut shaved and steeped; and also medicine (called *awanga*) made of the bark of the *vuandromo* and *yaka* (? *Pueraria thunbergiana*) trees prepared in the same way.

- 755 him food such as pork and sweet pudding which he ate. He
753 was treated according to the method described above and the
spirits were discovered in his eyes. They flew away and he
recovered.

[776] Women are usually possessed by an evil spirit called
Tutumatua. He is really an old man with elephantiasis of
the leg, but frequently he assumes the form of an attractive
young man in order to win a woman he desires.

[824] A giant taro plant (called *via*, probably *Alocasia indica*)
grew just outside the door of my house in Tokalau. The
[751] natives said that this had been planted to keep out Tutumatua,
who had been troubling the young woman formerly living in
the house. When Tutumatua, bent on mischief, would start
to enter the house, the giant knobby tuber would remind him
of his hideous swollen leg and he would be so ashamed that
he would pass by. I can vouch for the effectiveness of this
measure, at least during the length of my occupancy.⁵⁸

753 The missionary, Williams, recounts a similar case of spirit
possession. He writes: "A heathen woman complained of
being subject to the solicitations of some god, who was always
standing near to entice her to him. Her husband appealed
to me to drive away the god or his wife's delusion. The Rev.
John Hunt was staying with me at the time and we went
together to the dwelling of the woman, he armed with a large
dose of Epsom salts, and I with a bottle of spirits of hartshorn.
On our arrival we found the house filled with people, and
the woman on her back in the midst, shouting lustily, 'Let
me alone, that I may return!' The excitement was very great,
but the shouting was considerably checked by the sudden
application of hartshorn to her nose. When a light was brought
we discovered that our patient was by no means a Venus,
which led Mr. Hunt to observe, with dry gravity, 'Truly she
is a beauty: what a fancy the god must have who can desire

[171] ⁵⁸ Both Tutumatua and the "windwomen" are found under various names wide-
spread in Polynesia and other parts of the Pacific.

her!' A burst of laughter from the spectators, in which the husband outlaughed the whole, followed this remark. The treatment was most successful. The woman's pride was so strong that she at once sat up, assuring us that the god had gone away, and that she needed no more medicine."⁵⁹ 753

A patient on the verge of death can be restored to health if his soul, which has wandered away from his body, can be captured by a specialist in soul-catching, and returned to his body. Once Sienga of Lomatchi, a young unmarried woman, was very ill. Kama, the doctor, gave her medicine (called *wai ni thavuyalo*) but she grew worse. Then the doctor decided to try to catch her soul. He cut the tender new shoot from the center of a banana tree in the garden land. He took the shoot to the bush, unfolded it slightly, stood it on the ground and let it fall. Then he picked it up and set out in the direction toward which the shoot had fallen. Suddenly the doctor saw the girl's soul which he said looked just like the girl, seated and leaning against a tree. Since she faced him he knew she could be captured. If the soul had been facing the tree he would have known that he could not capture her and the patient would die. Standing in front of the soul, he pointed the banana shoot toward her and the soul entered the shoot. The doctor carried the shoot with its heavy burden on his shoulder to Lomatchi. When he reached the village he stood the shoot on the ground and let it fall in the direction of the patient's house so that the soul could escape and enter the house. When the shoot became lighter in weight he knew the soul had left it. He went to the patient and gave her another dose of medicine (called *wai ni thavuyalo*). The patient felt better immediately and he knew her soul had re-entered her body. After a few weeks the girl recovered completely. 754

Certain types of illness such as strokes, paralysis, internal swellings, and prolonged pains are attributed to sorcery [753]

⁵⁹ Thomas Williams and J. Calvert, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 120. (*ndraunika*).